

- 1798, p. 74.
145. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 93–4.
146. David Harley, 'Honour and Property: The Structure of Professional Disputes in Eighteenth-Century English Medicine', in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. A. Cunningham and R. French, Cambridge, 1990, pp. 138–64, at p. 142, note 13.
147. Percival, *Memoirs*, p. lxxxiii.
148. See especially J. Berlant, *Profession and Monopoly*, pp. 93–4. Pickstone identifies Manchester social and medical circles as the fora of Percival's elite status rather than London and the Royal College of Physicians as suggested by Berlant. John V. Pickstone, 'Thomas Percival and the Production of *Medical Ethics*', in *Codification of Medical Morality*, pp. 161–78.
149. Aikin, *Thoughts on Hospitals*, p. 76.
150. Guenter Risse, *Hospital Life*, p. 185.
151. Aikin, *Thoughts on Hospitals*, p. 55.
152. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 13.
153. Percival, *ibid.*, pp. 13–14.
154. Risse, *Hospital Life*, p. 186.
155. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 33–4.
156. Aikin, *Thoughts on Hospitals*, pp. 9–10.
157. Percival, 'Letter to the Author', in Aikin, *Thoughts*, p. 87.
158. Aikin, *ibid.*, p. 61.
159. *Ibid.*, p. 59.
160. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 18–19.
161. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
162. *Ibid.*, p. 19.
163. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
164. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
165. *Ibid.*, p. 46.
166. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
167. *Ibid.*, pp. 73–4.
168. *Ibid.*, p. 74.
169. *Ibid.*, p. 75.
170. *Ibid.*, p. 20.
171. *Ibid.*, p. 35.
172. *Ibid.*, p. 43.
173. *Ibid.*, pp. 35–6.
174. *Ibid.*, p. 36.
175. *Ibid.*, p. 37.
176. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–8.
177. *Ibid.*, p. 245.
178. *Ibid.*, p. 53.
179. *Ibid.*, p. 57; see Adam Smith, *Wealth of Nations*, Book I, ch. X.
180. See J.V. Pickstone and S.V. Butler, 'The Politics of Medicine in Manchester, 1788–1792: Hospital Reform and Public Health

- Services in the Early Industrial City', *Medical History*, 28 (1984), 227–49.
181. For a detailed account of this dispute, see Harley, 'Honour and Property', in *The Medical Enlightenment of the Eighteenth Century*, ed. Cunningham and French.
 182. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 48.
 183. The various duties demanded of eighteenth-century hospital patients and their friends are depicted in Guenter Risse, *Hospital Life*, pp. 56–9, 188–9. See also: Mary Fissell, *Patients, Power, and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol*, pp. 148–70. For an interesting eighteenth-century view of the duty of gratitude see Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital, 1752–1948*, p. 23.
 184. Percival and his circle were among the foremost literary proponents of the virtues of family life and judging from the success of their books of sentimental essays on the subject, there was an enormous demand for such literature. Typical examples are Percival, *A Father's Instructions* (1800), John Aikin, *Letters from a Father to His Son* (1800), and Maria Edgeworth, *Moral Tales for Young People* (1801).
 185. For example, in her account of hospital work in eighteenth-century Bristol, Mary Fissell explains that by the end of the century only patients with very careful friends were not dissected by the surgeons when they died. *Patients, Power, and the Poor in Eighteenth-Century Bristol*, p. 163.
 186. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 23.
 187. Aikin, *Thoughts*, pp. 76 and 80. Cf. Risse, *Hospital Life*, pp. 21–2.
 188. *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.
 189. *Ibid.*, pp. 80–1.
 190. *Ibid.*, pp. 80–1.
 191. There is an extensive literature on animal experimentation in the eighteenth century. For a comprehensive survey, see Andreas-Holger Maehle, *Kritik und Verteidigung des Tierversuchs. Die Anfänge der Diskussion im 17. und 18. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart, 1992. For Percival's views, see *A Father's Instructions, Works*, Vol. I, p. 162.
 192. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 15.
 193. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 15. See also pp. 123–4.
 194. Quoted in G. Risse, *Hospital Life*, p. 191.
 195. Cf. *Medical Ethics, Notes and Illustrations*, p. 166, for a discussion of claims based on trust.
 196. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 10–11.
 197. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 9. Cf. Jay Katz, *The Silent World of Doctor and Patient*, New York, NY, 1984, pp. 13–16, for a discussion of paternalism in Gregory, Percival and Rush.
 198. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 24.
 199. See, for example, Ivan Waddington's discussion of Percival's ethics in *The Medical Profession in the Industrial Revolution*, pp. 153–75.
 200. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 125.

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201. Percival, *ibid.*, pp. 125–6.
202. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 126.
203. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 24.
204. John Gregory, *Duties*, p. 19.
205. James Beattie's poem *The Minstrel* is discussed in Penelope Murray, *Genius, the History of an Idea*, Oxford, 1989, p. 85. For a brilliant discussion of Johnson and his friendships with medical men, see John Wiltshire, *Samuel Johnson in the Medical World*, Cambridge, 1991.
206. T.J. Pettigrew (ed), *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of John Coakley Lettsom*, 3 vols., London, 1817, Vol. I, p. 43.
207. For an account of Ferriar's practice, see Brockbank, *Sketches*, p. 135.
208. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 125.
209. Percival, *Works*, vol. II, *Moral and Literary Dissertations*, p. 215, quoting *Essays*, I, 27, 'Friendship'.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 215.
211. *Ibid.*, p. 216.
212. *Ibid.*, p. 217.
213. *Ibid.*, pp. 37–8.
214. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
215. Percival, *Notes and Illustrations*, in *Medical Ethics*, pp. 135–9. For a general history of the voluntary hospital, see *The Hospital in History*, ed. L. Granshaw and R. Porter, London, 1989. See also Brockbank, *Portrait of a Hospital, 1752–1948*.
216. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 26–7.
217. John Locke, *An Essay Concerning Human Understanding*, ed. Peter H. Nidditch, Oxford, 1975, II.27, sec. 26.
218. John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government*, ed. Peter Laslett, Cambridge, 1960, II.2, sec. 8.
219. For an account of the moral and legal status ascribed to the mental patient in Percival's time, see Kathleen Jones, *Lunacy, Law and Conscience, 1744–1845*, London, 1955; W.F. Bynum, 'Rationales for Therapy in British Psychiatry, 1780–1835', *Medical History*, 18 (1974), 317–34.
220. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 27.
221. Aikin, *Thoughts*, pp. 68–71.
222. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 28.
223. The case of George III is viewed by historians as a landmark in the history of insanity in Britain. For an account of the 'moral management' of the King, see Roy Porter, *Mind-Forg'd Manacles*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 206–10.
224. Catherine Crawford, 'A Scientific Profession: Medical Reform and Forensic Medicine in British Periodicals of the Early Nineteenth Century', in *British Medicine in An Age of Reform*, ed., Roger French and Andrew Wear, London, 1991), p. 203–30.
225. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 66.
226. *Ibid.*, p. 67.

227. *Ibid.*, pp. 67–8.
228. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
229. *Ibid.*, p. 76.
230. See Michael MacDonald and Terence Murphy, *Sleepless Souls: Suicide in Early Modern England*, Oxford, 1990, p. 144. According to MacDonald and Murphy, the *non compos mentis* verdict signalled the secularization of suicide. Increasingly jurors acted on the medical interpretation of suicide and abandoned the traditional punitive rituals.
231. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 25.
232. *Ibid.*, p. 24. Aikin; *Thoughts*, p. 36.
233. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
234. Aikin, *Thoughts*, p. 57.
235. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 81–2.
236. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
237. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
238. *Ibid.*, p. 79.
239. *Ibid.*, p. 78.
240. *Ibid.*, pp. 79–80.
241. Quoted in Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 82.
242. Quoted in Percival, *ibid.*, p. 84.
243. Percival, *ibid.*, p. 84.
244. *Ibid.*, p. 86.
245. Cf. Crawford, 'A Scientific Profession'. Crawford outlines the campaign to portray expertise in forensic medicine as the mark of a superior physician. She argues that the reality of forensic medicine fell short of the ideals.
246. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 165.
247. *Ibid.*, p. 156.
248. *Ibid.*, p. 165.
249. *Ibid.*, pp. 159–60.
250. *Ibid.*, p. 160. His reference is *De iure belli al pacis*, III, 1. x.
251. *Ibid.*, p. 161, quoting *The Law of Nature and Nations*, ed. Spavan, II, chap. 1, p. 6.
252. *Ibid.*, p. 162, quoting *A System of Moral Philosophy*, Glasgow, 1755, II, p. 33. (Percival's references are inaccurate.)
253. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
254. Gisborne, *Duties of Men*, pp. 401–2.
255. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 163, quoting *System*, II, p. 133.
256. It is useful here to compare Percival's discussion of the duty of veracity to that of Philip Doddridge in his textbook for Dissenting academics, *A Course of Lectures on the Principal Subjects in Pneumatology, Ethics, and Divinity* [1764], 2 vols, 4th edn, London, 1799, pp. 212–17.
257. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, p. 165.
258. *Ibid.*, p. 165.

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- 259. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- 260. *Ibid.*, p. 166.
- 261. *Ibid.*, p. 167.
- 262. Percival, 'A Socratic Discourse on Truth', in *Moral and Literary Dissertations*, Warrington, 1788, p. 60.
- 263. Percival, *Medical Ethics*, pp. 168–9.

Benjamin Rush: Medical Ethics for a New Republic

Character and Connections

Early Life and Education

There are several interesting parallels in the early lives of the American physician and moralist, Benjamin Rush, and his British counterparts John Gregory and Thomas Percival. Most significantly, the early deaths of their fathers led to a series of paternal substitutes chosen for them by their mothers or, in Percival's case, his sister. For Rush, as for Gregory and Percival, these early mentors played an important role in his religious, intellectual and social development. They directed, with the co-operation of his mother, the type of education and schooling he received, the milieu he was raised in and, to some extent, the career he eventually pursued.¹

John Rush, his father, was a farmer and gunsmith who died in Byberry township, Pennsylvania, when Rush was five years old. After his father's death his mother shifted her family from the Episcopal to the Presbyterian Church in Philadelphia, led by Rev. Gilbert Tennent. The first of Rush's mentors, Tennent was a leader in the evangelical movement known as the 'Great Awakening' which split the American Presbyterian Church into two opposing factions, the 'New Sides' and 'Old Sides'.² Much more than Percival's, Rush's early life was marked by a climate of intense religiosity, the more fervent for its militant evangelical nature. In direct contrast to the urbane character of John Seddon, Percival's first teacher, Tennent was 'a fiery and uncompromising spirit'. 'Wherever he went', Rush noted approvingly, 'the Kingdom of Satan trembled.'³ Despite their different religious temperaments, both teachers believed that the primary purpose of education was to form young men who were good as well as useful.

Like Gregory and Percival, Rush was educated to be a member of the liberal professions, a social leader and an enlightened Christian reformer.

At the age of eight, Rush was sent from his home in Philadelphia to board at a Presbyterian academy in West Nottingham, Maryland, where he came under the tutelage of his maternal uncle, Samuel Finley, another 'New Side' evangelist.⁴

Rush received the traditional classical education at Nottingham as well as the evangelical one suggested above. He related in his memoirs that he disliked the study of Latin and Greek and that he enjoyed and profited from all aspects of his English language training. His science instruction had been, he said, as 'primitive' and 'cursory' as it was in all the colonial academies. The curriculum also included lessons in polite deportment, the 'forms of good breeding' and 'practical agriculture'. According to Rush, the students were taught, as a component of good breeding, the art of letter writing and 'the asking and receiving of favours'. Practical agriculture, which, in retrospect at least, he praised highly, consisted in sharing 'in the labours of harvest and hay making', an exercise which 'begot health and helped to implant more deeply in our minds the native passion for rural life'.⁵ In his later role as one of America's most influential educators, Rush vigorously promoted the benefits of a rural education for its salutary effect on students' health and morals, and he was one of the first to advocate formal agricultural instruction in the colleges of America.⁶

From Nottingham and the influence of Samuel Finley, Rush, at the age of fifteen, moved to the College of New Jersey (later Princeton), by then under the presidency of Rev. Samuel Davies. A self-made man, Davies was known throughout the colonies for his splendid oratory and elegant manners.⁷ Like Rush's earlier mentors, he too was a 'New Side' preacher who impressed upon his students their duty as 'Agents of God' to dedicate their lives to the social and moral improvement of their society.⁸ For him, regeneration and reform were the chief principles of action and America the stage on which true religion would eventually emerge. Davies' call for conversion and regeneration, like most of the implications of this 'born again' philosophy was not inimical to the programmes for reform advocated by less religiously zealous Enlightenment thinkers. Like Percival and other graduates of the Dissenting academies and Scottish universities, Davies' students saw themselves as civic reformers as well as religious ones.

In his recent study of Princeton University, Mark Noll

comments on the dedication and skill with which the two successive presidents, Davies and Finley, taught the non-religious subjects. Both these men, he noted, 'championed free-inquiry, on the model of Bacon's induction, and did what they could to promote mathematics and natural philosophy'. As Noll emphasizes, they managed at the same time to maintain orthodox Christian assumptions about 'the unity of truth under God'.⁹ For them, natural philosophy demonstrated to its students God's wonders, and moral philosophy the inherent reasonableness of Christianity.

Davies, according to Rush, taught him the value of keeping a literary journal or commonplace book in which he was instructed to record interesting passages from his reading of the classics. This was a task which Rush adopted with characteristic enthusiasm and performed faithfully for the rest of his life. His recordings, however, were not restricted to literary remarks but included the momentous occasions of his life both private and public, as well as the minutiae – bits of conversation, dreams and observations on every day life. Rush also kept commonplace books on medical topics, in which, as he wrote to Thomas Jefferson, 'I have recorded the results of the observations of my patients and friends upon the causes, symptoms, and cure of diseases'.¹⁰

In 1760, less than two years after he entered New Jersey, Rush graduated with a Bachelor of Arts degree.¹¹ He had considered a career in the church, but he believed that he had failed to receive the necessary 'call' or infusion of grace and decided instead to pursue a career in the law. His mentor, Samuel Finley, was unhappy with his choice and warned him that such a life was likely to be one fraught with temptations which could imperil his immortal soul.¹² Rush subsequently chose a career in medicine and in 1761 began his apprenticeship with Philadelphia's leading physician, Dr John Redman, a graduate of Edinburgh and Leyden. At the same time that he learned the trade of medicine he also learned its art and science. He attended a course of anatomy taught by Dr William Shippen Jr, a recent Edinburgh graduate, and read the classic texts of medicine which included Boerhaave's lectures on physiology and pathology and Van Swieten's commentaries on Boerhaave's practical aphorisms.¹³ During his five-and-a-half-years, apprenticeship with Redman, he was encouraged by Dr Shippen and another recent graduate of Edinburgh, Dr John Morgan, to pursue a degree in medicine at their *alma mater*. Morgan later wrote to Rush in Edinburgh and indicated that he might, on his return, be given the first Chair of Chemistry at the College of Philadelphia.¹⁴

There is evidence from his correspondence that Rush was a somewhat emotional young man who, as he himself revealed, had not yet overcome 'an uncommon aversion to scenes of medical distress'. In a letter to his school-mate Enoch Green, he described his unease in a manner evocative of some modern environmentalists, lamenting that:

This earthly frame, a minute fabric, a center of wonders, is forever subject to Diseases and Death. The very air we breath too often proves noxious, our food is armed with poison, the very elements conspire the ruin of our constitutions, and Death forever lies lurking to deceive us.¹⁵

This outburst was prompted by the distressing news of the premature death of Samuel Davies, Rush's third 'father and friend' who had been for him 'the bright source of advice and consolation'.¹⁶

Edinburgh (1766–1768)

Rush's medical education was similar to that previously outlined for Thomas Percival. Like the latter, he arrived in Edinburgh laden with impressive recommendations and letters of introduction from his Scottish-trained teachers. Rush even had the foresight to enlist the aid of Philadelphia's agent in London, Benjamin Franklin, whose generous patronage assured him entry into the most sought-after intellectual and social circles of the Scottish capital.

In his first year in Edinburgh, Rush diligently followed the plan of lectures mapped out for him by his former teacher and friend, Dr Morgan.¹⁷ He obtained, as directed, tickets of admission to the lectures of the doctors Monro Secundus, Black, Russell and Cullen. To his friends in America he boasted that the University was in 'the zenith of its glory' and suggested that Edinburgh was in the throes of a revival in medicine analogous to the one in religion proclaimed from the pulpits of his New Light teachers. The present era, he wrote,

will be famous for a revolution in physic. The old doctrines of the blood, nerves, &c, are now exploded, and much more rational ones substituted in their place.¹⁸

William Cullen was the undisputed leader of this medical 'revolution', and for Rush, as for generations of Edinburgh students, he embodied the character of the new medical scientist. He was, Rush wrote in his eulogy for Cullen, 'to medicine what Newton had been to astronomy and Franklin to electricity'.¹⁹ Like Percival and